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spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered."

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used, but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house.

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after incision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind.

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother announced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in

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(fata'a), which was also ornamented with the sacred white and the red bark cloth, and *ata* (a kind of greenery). Exactly the same rite was enacted at this time for a boy or for a girl, and was meant to give the child strength and health *(no te menavu*, for the life-breath). This rite is still performed at times in Pua Ma'u. 852

According to the Dordillon manuscript (9) the child's head was anointed until the tenth day after its birth. When the child could walk, it was carried to the sea shore, covered with a piece of cloth, and buried in the sand. After this, it was bathed in fresh water. The child was then given *popoi* for the first time, a little being offered at the same time to the gods. [853]

Treatment of Infants

During its infancy, the child was bathed twice a day, morning and evening. A chief's child had a special, *tapu*, bathing basin lined with cut red stone slabs, called *vai ke'etu*. Early in the morning, just about sunrise, it was customary to carry a child out and lay it in the brush so that the dew might strengthen it. 854

One informant said the natives believed that if a mother nursed her child, it would be hard to raise. Hence she did not nurse it, but allowed it to be taken away from her at once and fed on cold breadfruit paste and chewed shrimps. I believe that this informant must have been speaking of the purgative used immediately after birth, for native children in the Marquesas were certainly suckled by their mothers. 853

Mothers moulded the heads of infants by passing the hand up across the forehead, pressing the temples in, and pushing the upper region of the forehead back, so as to form a narrow temporal region and a head sloping back from the brows to a peaked apex. This appearance is distinct in many old natives today, although never very greatly exaggerated. The practice is still followed by mothers. In addition to this molding of the skull the end of the nose was pressed down and held with the fingers, in order to flatten and broaden it. The lips of the vulva of female infants were pulled and manipulated by the child's mother, in order to enlarge and open them. 854 304

During the period of infancy, elaborate precautions were taken to prevent harm from coming to the child through evil spirits and to safeguard it against being stolen by ogresses *(vehine hae)*. The people thought that sometimes *vehine hae* took the children of two mothers and exchanged them. Sickness and death of infants were believed to be caused by evil influences contracted by the child through its parents or through other relatives. For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who 854 753

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854 753 [262] For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought [755 824] the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 428 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu*.

858 [769] The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u*, the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories [539] collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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of drinks before the stupor and sleep, which were the desired results, would follow. A person under the influence of the drink[1] was very highly sensitive to noise. According to Père Pierre (4) the god Papaiea was thought to possess a man at this time. This god was supposed to be irritated by noise, the violent trembling which sometimes affected the body of the *kava* drinker being caused by his agitation. To stop the trembling the man's stomach would be struck a blow or his wife would sit, nude, on his chest. It was believed that the contact of her body would frighten away the god.

A scaling off of the skin (*ha'a poha*) resulted from the excessive use of the beverage. According to natives, however, there were no lasting ill effects; the nervous effect and scaling of the skin passing off with a short period of abstinence. Dordillon gives *puhe kava* as the name of a kind of chant which was sung before *kava* was drunk (8). There was no formality connected with *kava* drinking in the Marquesas.

FESTIVALS

The term *ko'ina* is used in the Marquesas to apply to any festivity whether a small family feast or a great festival. The different types of *ko'ina* are indicated by the use of an adjective describing the purpose of the celebration, following the word *ko'ina*—thus, *ko'ina tupapa'u*, feast for the dead.

Feasts or festivals celebrated every incident and occurrence of importance to families or tribes. The completion of any new object of manufacture or of the labor of any industry requiring communal work was always celebrated with a feast or festival, as were also religious and social events. On the surface some *ko'ina* appear to be purely for amusement, as for example the chanting feasts that are described under Chants. But even these had actually definite purposes, such as the lauding or elevation of the individual for whom the chant was composed.

The great festivals were merely elaborated feasts. For the most part they celebrated in a chief's family the same incidents and occurrences that in private families were celebrated with smaller feasts; or they celebrated the completion of labor or a religious rite in which the tribe as a whole had been concerned. Tribal festivals may be grouped into several classes: those celebrating abundant harvests of the fruits of sea or land; those celebrating such occurrences in the chief's family as marriage, tattooing, death, and so on; the memorial festivals when offerings were made by different families in honor of those who had died some time before; and certain other religious festivals.

All feasts and festivals and also the industries were intimately associated with religious rites. In connection with every industry there were

[1] [i.e., Kava.—Analyst]

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priest's house. Both of these gods are what we have named original gods. On the other hand, the chief patrons of canoe-building and wood-working were Hopekoutoki and Motuhaiki—legendary characters, who were probably famous canoe-builders of antiquity. Tu was patron of war: those performing the war rites were called Ati-Tu, family of Tu.

Every type of sickness had its special deity. Thus Anoano was the goddess who inflicted insanity on women and it was Te-oho-o-te-ku'a who attacked those afflicted with leprosy.

TUTELARY DEITIES

The tutelary tribal deities appear all to have been divinized chiefs and priests. In other words they were tribal ancestral spirits that had been elevated, through ritual of chanting and sacrifice, to the power of gods. They were supposed to reside in an indefinitely conceived region in the upper heavens. Although this is by no means an invariable rule, these tribal deities frequently had as the first part of their names *tau'a*—indicating that when alive they were inspirational priests. Such were the spirits invoked at the temples, which were actually tombs. For example, gods of different temples of the Na-iki in Atu Ona were Mokoio-tohotika, Tau'a-o-te-vehine, Tau'a-te-ihu-pu, and Maiaope. The last named deity appears as a human character, the inspirational priest of the Na-iki, in a legend which recounts a great war in which this tribe was defeated.

The tribal deities formed only one class of ancestral spirits, an upper class, so to speak. The ancestral spirits of lesser importance were those venerated in private worship. It was as embodiments of these ancestral spirits that bodies were temporarily mummified and skulls and other relics carefully preserved.

The adventures and characteristics of the most important legendary characters are illustrated by the legends[18]. The most prominent names in legend are: Maui, Mahuike, Fai, Tana'oa, Tupa, Hahapo'a, Hu'uti, Ono, Tohetika, Tiki Tu Kae, Tuapu'u, Akaui, Tiu, Kena, Pohu, Putio, Puainanoa, Puhi, and Hina.

Gods of different classes appear to have been conceived of as dwelling in various regions. Examples of this are furnished in the descriptions given above of the gods of the sky, the elements, the lower regions, and so on. Tribal ancestral deities lived in the sky, coming to their temples only when they entered the images named for them or their inspirational priests, while the ancestral spirits of lesser importance dwelt in the lower world (Havai'i).

[18] A large number of Marquesan legends have been collected. They will be published separately.

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member bore the name of the food. For example, in Atu Ona a fish called *vahi* was *tapu* to all other members of the family of a man named Vahi but not to the man himself. 262 784

PUNISHMENT FOR INFRINGEMENT OF TAPU

The punishment for the breaking of *tapu* was supposed to be sickness, or sudden death in some such manner as by drowning, or by being eaten by sharks. Leprosy was caused by the breaking of the *tapu* relating to defilement. Deep ulcers (*puku*) were supposed to result from eating the fish sacred to the priests and the gods. It was also thought that the breaking of *tapu* established by the tribal priest was punished by curses directed by the priest. An insult to personal *tapu* was punished directly by physical violence, or indirectly through witchcraft. 784 688

SICKNESS

SUPPOSED CAUSES OF DISEASE

In general, in the mind of the native there were two basic causes of illness: the breaking of *tapu*, and sorcery. Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken *tapu* or being sent by some evil worker. Sickness and death resulting from the practice of sorcery (*nani kaha*) seem to have been conceived of as resulting directly in a magical way, rather than through the medium of evil spirits. 753

Some specific examples of the native belief as to the cause of disease, by no means a complete list, are as follows: Leprosy resulted from pollution, physical or spiritual, by the evil influences which were thought of as being associated with womankind, by contact with menstrual fluid or clothing that had touched a woman's private parts, by passing under a woman's mat or loin cloth. The father of a woman, who is insane, told me that she was so afflicted because she had eaten coconuts from a tree which had been made *tapu* for the manufacture of the oil used with *ena* in dyeing women's loin cloths. A man of Atu Ona believes that he is blind because he ate of a pig, which had been given as a present to his son, the animal being, therefore, *tapu* to the father. To break the *tapu* on sexual intercourse between the male and female students of legends at the time that the students were consecrated to the task of memorizing was supposed to cause blindness. It was believed that certain deep ulcers (*puku*) were the result of eating the fish called *u'ua*, which was *tapu* to the priests, and that other *puku* resulted from the breaking of the *koaho*, the protective spell on property. Violent colics were supposed to result from sorcery, and insanity from the breaking of *tapu*. Children's

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153 sicknesses were the result sometimes of malicious practices on the part of ogresses (*vehine hae*); sometimes, of evil influences that had entered the mother during the time of pregnancy through food that she ate or through other contact with something belonging to the woman; sometimes the evil influences were supposed to come to the child through the father.

NATIVE MALADIES

164 The ailments of the natives prior to European contact were very few. My time was too limited to make careful investigations with regard to just what maladies were known in the early days, and little attention was given to the question of the introduction and spread of disease brought by visitors, the causes of depopulation, and the like. Père Pierre Chaulet was a doctor of medicine as well as a Catholic priest. In a manuscript which he left (4) he writes that, according to the natives, the only maladies in the ancient days were colds (*hapu*), asthma (*hekei*), a kind of venereal malady (*pa'atita*) [described by a modern informant as consisting of sores, which attacked the mouth, nose and private parts], venereal ulcers (*ukako*), venereal blotches (*uua*), bubo (*ko atua*), thrush (*ke'a*), pimples and pustules (*pata*), blindness (*mata po*), and deafness (*putu'i*). According to this manuscript, all other maladies besides these were introduced. Basings one's conclusions on the rules of *tapu*, one is led to believe that there was something resembling leprosy (*kovi, mohoi*) in the ancient days, and the same reasoning applies to insanity, violent colics, and the deep ulcers or carbuncles (*puku*). The leprosy that afflicts many natives today was brought by Chinese; influenza, venereal diseases, and so on, by whites.

158 Certain manifestations of violent insanity or madness are described by Père Pierre (4). The first was known by the natives as *tutu*. A man afflicted with this madness would rush about the valley, carrying the head of a dead person in his hand and throwing stones at people. An evil spirit was supposed to have entered his body. If a woman were so afflicted, it was thought to be a *fanaua* spirit that had entered her.

A more violent and dangerous insanity was called *nci*. A man so afflicted would clothe himself in green coconut leaves split into small strips, wallow in the mud, rub himself all over with, and sometimes eat, human excrement, and, carrying the head of a dead person, would rush about frothing at the mouth and crying, *"Vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu!"* Such a one would catch women, tickling them under the arm-pits in order to be able to attack them and would eat their flesh. It is said that anything red would throw him into a frenzy. This madness was supposed to attack individuals especially at the time when the

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261 theft; members of the same family would steal food from one another, but nothing else. The high value placed on food was clearly shown in social observances. Every form of social advancement was linked with some ceremony involving a feast. The natives took delight and pride in the amount of food produced at these feasts, sheer bulk being more important than the delicacy of cooking or preparation. Taboos would be placed on perhaps two of the staple foods, so that no one could eat them for months, and there would be a great accumulation by the time the taboo was removed for the feast. The family would starve themselves for weeks in order to fatten the pigs for the event. Even tribal wars were suspended when a feast was imminent. Neighboring tribes would be formally invited to join the festivities. An enemy never attacked if he knew a feast was [721] in preparation. After the feast, however, when all were beginning to suffer from indigestion, fights were very likely to flare up, and the visiting tribe often had to run for home.

753 774 The Marquesans had the belief, common to many primitive peoples, that certain types of illness were caused by the absence of the soul. Their method of restoring the lost soul was another testimonial to the importance of food in this culture. The [756] *tuhunga* (medicine man) built a small house, in front of which he placed food saying, "Soul, this is for you." The soul, unable to resist the lure of food, returned to the house and was snatched by the waiting *tuhunga* and returned to its proper place. He usually had many scratches to show for his struggle with the lost soul.

32 There was plenty of timber and bamboo on the islands, but stone suitable for implements was irregularly distributed. The Marquesans' material culture was extremely rich, perhaps the richest in the Polynesian area, characterized by a tremendous amount of decoration and elaboration of detail. A primitive craftsman, carpenter, or canoe maker would have half a dozen adzes, each for a special use. A tattooer would have in his kit [304] ten or fifteen bone combs of different sizes for making various designs,

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E nā 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas). 844 [152]

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death. [352] [177]

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months). [412] [165]

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [825] [753] [178]

/13 cont./

(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species) is recommended. 846 757

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" (mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption. [753] [824]

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth. [824]

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple. 844 [412] 853 [178]

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136]
the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 169
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 508
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [763]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867. 114 165

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [776] [753] [778] [776] [847]